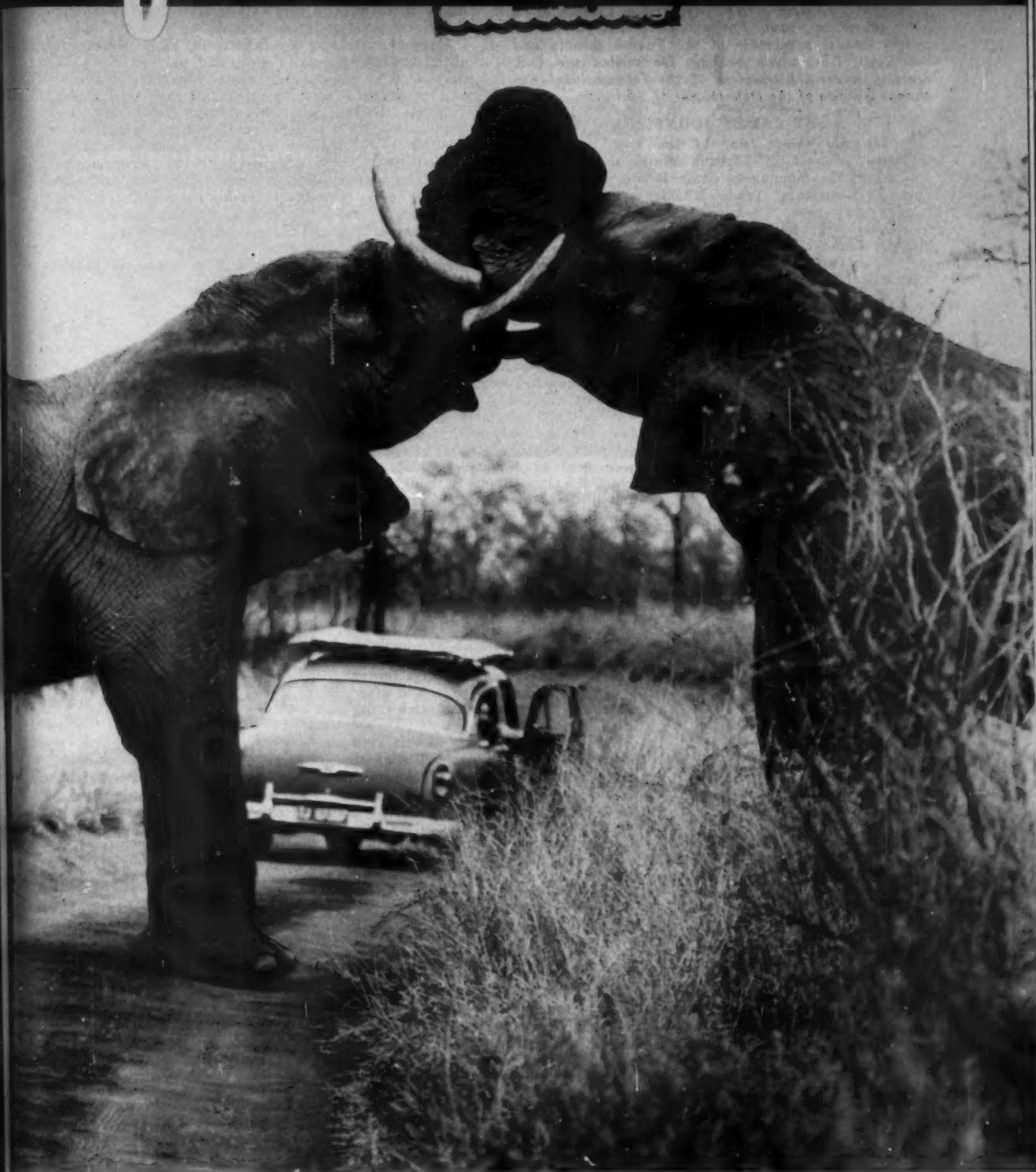


Africa

June 1958

Volume 3, Number 6

SPECIAL REPORT



JUNE IN SOUTH AFRICA—An elephantine display of affection in Kruger National Park.

**INSIDE: Multiracial Africa—A survey of political institutions,
with on the spot reports**

As Seen by a British M.P.:

America's Role in Africa

THE HON. JAMES JOHNSON, British Labour, M.P., has served on many Parliamentary Delegations to Africa and is a member of the Fabian Society and the Royal Geographic Society. He visited the U.S. recently under the auspices of the International Exchange Service of the Department of State.

BY JAMES JOHNSON

During my recent tour of the U.S.A., I found enormous interest in African affairs shown by all sections of the community, State Department officials, university students, Trade Unions and liberal elements everywhere. To give one example, I found that there were four students being sent to Somaliland by foundations like Ford or Carnegie, to study its political future. When I say that the British have governed this protectorate since 1884, and I was the

first British M.P. to visit this territory two years ago, the significance of these students' trips is obvious.

It was gratifying to experience keen questioning about British Colonial Policy, and particularly about the views of the Labour Party regarding the color bar, black nationalists parties and such questions. I welcome all this and accept the fact that Vice-President Nixon's presence at the Ghana independence celebration and his tour across the continent was not junketeering, but a genuine desire to be acquainted with things on the spot. It seems to me that American intervention is permanent, if only because the African continent is calling out for financial help and economic development. Only the U.S.A. today, in any large fashion, can supply these vital needs.

However, we must begin with a caveat, or rather (See JAMES JOHNSON, Page 12)

MAIL BAG

WHICH IS APTER?

To the Editor:

In the November, 1957, issue of *Africa Special Report*, you carried an article by Dr. David Apter, of the University of Chicago, entitled "What's Happening in Ghana?" In... March, 1958, you carried another article by the same author entitled "The Nkrumah Government: a Record of Achievement." I submit that the two articles are contradictory in spirit if not in fact.

* * *

It is difficult to understand how (1) the political scene could have deteriorated so badly from March to November, 1957, as the first article states, and yet (2) be so recovered and generally healthy as the second article indicates. I suggest that the first article was overly dramatic, that the lights and shadows were exaggerated, for emphasis, perhaps.

* * *

In the first article the burden of defending democracy is with the Op-

position, and in the second article the Opposition has produced a "dangerous constitutional crisis" which has been averted by the Government. This is the Government which, in the first article, the author says would have lost a general election if one had been held in November, 1957, and which the Opposition (!) thought was unwilling to support democratic institutions.

Thus the threat to democracy is portrayed as lying in the acts of the Government in the November, 1957, article, and in the acts of the Opposition in the March, 1958, article! But the same events are being described and analyzed.

* * *

The second article then says things weren't so bad as all that, and after all, things don't mean the same thing there as they do here.

Surely there is a flaw in this kind of treatment of problems. I suggest that the author has run afoul of the shoals which threaten a newspaper-headline approach to problems; that the first article was precipitous and overdramatized. I suggest that the second article is more in keeping with the caution necessary for studying any newly-emergent nation.

Sincerely,

F. Palmer Patterson II
Seattle, Washington

To the Editor:

Your *Africa Special Report* is the finest publication that has come to my desk since I began my studies on Africa. I look forward to its continuance and growth and I recommend it most highly to my students as an excellent media for learning about the contemporary African scene.

Dr. V. Mitchell Smith, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Midwestern University
Wichita Falls, Texas

"... a MUST for those who care about Africa."

Mrs. E. E. Edling
Nashville

"... excellent. Keep it short and precise; don't weight it with the garbage filling most of the magazines today."

Daniel M. Friedenberg
New York

"... a very exciting periodical."

Allan F. Saunders
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
University of Hawaii

"... your news and viewpoint are helpful, and we feel with the right attitude..."

Miss Clara A. Nutting, M.D.
Umtali, Southern Rhodesia

QUOTATIONS

Col. Grogan on Kenya

"What of our Governors? I have known them all. Three died of drink. Three were quite wrongly driven by the Home Government to resignation or incontinently sacked. One was distinguished by giving his name to a dubious brand of cigar now happily extinct. Another was alleged, I believe correctly, to have blackmailed a Prime Minister into giving him the job. The appointees from the professional Colonial Civil Service were the normal anemic resultant of creeping into the Secretariat, learning the gentle art of dodging decisions on all vital issues, and thereby qualifying in due course for the splendour of a cocked hat."

—Col. Ewart Grogan, in the forthcoming book *Rhodesia and East Africa*, to be published this year by the journal *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 66 Great Russell Street, London W.C.1, 35s.

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at 1234 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Cable: AFRAM, WASHINGTON

Editorial Staff:
Robert C. Keith, Chief
S. A. Binenkorb, Editorial Assistant
Betty Lou Lawton, Circulation
Africa Special Report welcomes but cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.
© Africa Special Report, 1958

Articles in *Africa Special Report* are independently selected and edited by the editorial staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the African-American Institute or its membership. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and opinions expressed rests solely with individual correspondents and staff writers.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1 per year by surface mail anywhere in the world. Air Rates: U. S. \$3.00; Foreign \$4.90.

Application for Second Class mail privileges pending at Washington, D. C.

Political Systems In

MULTIRACIAL AFRICA

RACE TENSIONS POSE
THREAT TO STABILITY

*An Analysis by James S. Coleman**

EURO-AFRICAN
UNIONS

MULTIRACIAL
TERRITORIES

EUROPEAN OLIGARCHIC
STATES

ONE OF THE characteristic features of past British policy has been the willingness to devolve political power into the hands of resident white settlers in those territories where the size and demands of the white community made such action necessary or expedient. This policy was largely founded on the belief that white British subjects had the right to responsible local government wherever they might reside in the empire, and that they would be as objective and humane as colonial officials in carrying out the burdens of trusteeship for the African mass. The European minorities in the Union of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia were the beneficiaries of this policy, and in 1910 and 1923 respectively they were given responsible government—the Union as a Dominion (which in 1931 became fully independent) and Southern Rhodesia as a “self-governing colony.”

Since the acquisition of internal

self-government, the European oligarchies in these two countries have consolidated their positions of control over the African community through a long series of differentiating legislative enactments. Such measures have included the delimitation of separate European and African areas, pass laws to control the movement and residence of Africans, a legalized industrial color bar, the denial of African representation or participation in the central organs of government, and systems of “direct” European administration. Their positions were made even more secure by instituting stringent systems of social control and employing a variety of both subtle and overt devices designed to prevent or frustrate any serious challenge by the African community. In most of these measures Southern Rhodesia has tended to follow the lead of the Union of South Africa.

The political systems of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are essentially similar in that they are oligarchical, are based upon the fundamental assumption of white supremacy, and receive the support of the overwhelming majority of Europeans in the two countries. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between them which have become more pronounced since 1953. In that year the (Afrikaner)

The author distinguishes between Multiracial Territories (British East and Central Africa and the Belgian Congo), European Oligarchic States (Union of South Africa), and Euro-African Unions (Portuguese Africa).

Nationalist government of the Union of South Africa secured a working majority in the House of Assembly and proceeded to implement its program of apartheid by a series of measures designed to further the “separate development” of the races and to guarantee permanent white supremacy. In the same year the Southern Rhodesian electorate, by a substantial majority, agreed that Southern Rhodesia should become a constituent unit in the new Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. On the principle of interracial “partnership,” the Federation provided for African participation in the central organs of government. Thus, one now finds that the two systems, although founded originally on the same assumptions and shaped by a similar tradition, are oriented in two very different directions—one toward a permanent legalized oligarchy based

(Continued on Next Page)

* THIS ARTICLE is adapted from Mr. Coleman's chapter on “The Character and Viability of African Political Systems” in the book *The United States and Africa*, scheduled for publication this month by the American Assembly, Columbia University. James S. Coleman is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of a number of articles on political developments in Africa and of a book on Nigeria: *Background to Nationalism*, due for publication in September.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

upon color, the other toward an interracial democracy in which, at least theoretically, color will eventually become irrelevant. If, as some Africans argue, the only real difference between the two is that South African Europeans are realists and Rhodesian Europeans are dishonest humbugs, then the two strands may not be divergent. But if, as Lord Hailey suggests, moral conceptions such as "partnership" can exert an influence upon political developments and social relationships, then the difference may in time become very real. In any event, it would seem more appropriate to appraise the Federation and Southern Rhodesia with other multiracial experiments in the following section.

* * *

THE DISTINGUISHING attribute of multiracial territories is that present constitutional arrangements and political objectives prescribe multiracial participation in the political systems, and not merely that they have racially mixed populations. The present patterns of such participation, shown in the accompanying graph (see page 5) have all been loosely endowed with the concept of "partnership," which as Lord Hailey suggests is "rather an aspiration than a policy" and at most simply stipulates that each race "should have some voice in the political process." Because the British government bestowed power and responsibility upon them, the resident Europeans have a predominant role in the political process. The rise of African nationalism and re-evaluation of the future of these territories by the metropolitan powers has expanded African participation during the past decade.

Four patterns of racial participation in the legislative process may be distinguished. One is "token representation," in which one community (e.g., the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland) is given representation sufficient to make the system multiracial in name, but insufficient to affect the political process. A second type is "equal representation," in which each racial community, regardless of its size, has representation equal to each of the other communities (e.g., Tanganyika). A third pattern is "balanced representation," in which one community (e.g., the Africans in Uganda and, until recently, the Europeans in Kenya) has repre-

ASSEMBLY BOOK NOW ON SALE

The new American Assembly book "The United States and Africa", edited by Dr. Walter R. Goldschmidt of the University of California (Los Angeles), contains seven chapters by area specialists, an appendix with a note on U.S. government agencies, numerous maps and statistical tables, and a text of the report adopted last month by the Assembly in its meeting at Harriman, New York (see Africa Special Report, May 1958).

Mr. Coleman's accompanying article is condensed from one portion of his chapter on "The Character and Viability of African Political Systems." Other chapters are: "The Character of American Interests in Africa," by Rupert Emerson; "External Political Pressures on Africa Today," by Vernon McKay; "The Character and Potential of African Economies," by Daniel Neumark; "The African Economy and International Trade," by Andrew M. Kamarck; "Racial Situations and Issues in Africa," by William O. Brown and Hylan Lewis; "Culture and Changing Values in Africa," by Walter Goldschmidt; and "The African Operations of United States Government Agencies," an Appendix note by Vernon McKay.

The book is due off the press late this month. Copies are available for a charge of \$1 each, domestic or overseas postage included. The book may be obtained by writing:

The American Assembly
Columbia University
New York 27, N.Y.

sentation equal to all other communities combined. The fourth—universal suffrage and majority rule—is the ideal of the overwhelming majority of politically conscious Africans. The first three patterns tend increasingly to be regarded by these Africans as but stepping stones to the fourth, which in turn means nothing less than complete African self-government. The first generation of African leadership tended to be accommodationist; the present generation is irrevocably committed to the Ghana model.

Europeans have sought to preserve their dominant position. Where it is no longer tenable, they have been obliged to concede a pattern more favorable to the Africans, under pressure from the imperial government. With few exceptions, however, they have not been willing to concede the African ideal.

The position of the Asian peoples in Africa has been opportunistic and pragmatic. In general, they have sought equal representation as a maximum objective. Until recently they tended to support patterns of racial participation which favored Europeans over the Africans, presumably because Europeans were firmly in control. Since Prime Minister Nehru's admonition that they must become citizens of their country of residence, and particularly since the appearance of uncompromising African nationalism, Asians have progressively shifted to support of the African ideal. This has already occurred in

Uganda, and the shift is in progress in both Tanganyika and Kenya.

Several of the British multiracial territories are likely to be areas of instability and racial tension during the next decade, since the general outlook is satisfactory to neither European residents nor Africans. Both are frustrated—the former in their dreams of remaining a privileged class, and the latter in their hopes for complete African self-government. Each race is obsessed with anxiety because there is uncertainty as to what the power and position of each will be when the declared goal of "self-government" is achieved. Instability is furthered by the belief, firmly based on recent experience, that the imperial government can be drawn into almost continuous constitutional discussion and induced to make changes. This general setting exacerbates distrust and leads to continuous maneuvering, the assertion of demands and counter-demands, and recurrent constitutional crises.

Therefore, the immediate problem in these areas is how to maintain a measure of stability over the next decade. Most proposals aim at assuaging the apprehensions of the African leaders who are seeking to change the existing order. Their solution is based on the argument that the principle of democracy and the overwhelming numerical superiority of the African community clearly indicate that political power will inevitably pass into African hands, and they demand a categorical statement by the

RACIAL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT IN MULTIRACIAL TERRITORIES

(All figures in percentages)

TERRITORY	POPULATION			RACIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE CENTRAL ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT								
	European	Asian	African	Legislative Organs			Executive Organs			Higher Civil Service		
				European ²	Asian ¹	African	European ²	Asian ¹	African	European ²	Asian ¹	African
EAST AFRICA												
UGANDA	.1	.9	99.	(28) 35	15	50	(27) 64	9	27	Figures not available		
TANGANYIKA	.3	1.1	98.6	(24) 52	24	24	(15) 55	15	30	83.5	12	4.5
KENYA	.8	3.0	96.2	(26) 62	14	24	(14) 71	14	14	Figures not available		
CENTRAL AFRICA												
FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND as a whole	3.1	.3	96.6	(80) 80	0	20	(100) 100	0	0	100	0	0
NYASALAND	.2	.2	99.6	(25) 78	0	22	(17) 100	0	0	89	1	10
N. RHODESIA	2.2	.2	97.6	(54) 85	0	15	(33) 100	0	0	Figures not available		
S. RHODESIA	7.1	.4	92.5	(100) 100	0	0	(100) 100	0	0	100	0	0

Adapted from a table in *The United States and Africa*.



European



Asian



African

¹ Asian here includes Arabs, Coloreds, and other non-African non-Europeans.

² Figures in parentheses indicate representatives chosen from the

European residential community. The remainder are from the permanent colonial administration.

Note: Some of the figures are approximate because of the non-availability of precise data.

British government that the territories are destined to become "African states." These Africans claim they would be willing to accept and work within existing tran-

sitional arrangements (in which alien groups play a disproportionately large role) if they were assured of such a future. The British government has thus far been

willing to make such a statement only for Uganda.

Another proposal is that the imperial government firmly assert (Continued on Next Page)

itself, decline to devolve any additional power to the territorial governments, call a halt to any further discussion of self-government for at least a decade, and concentrate existing energies and resources upon an accelerated program of African advancements in all fields, but particularly in education and public administration. It is argued that, if African leaders were granted at least "balanced representation" for the transitional period, they could be attracted to this formula. Indeed, British multiracial territories are among the few areas in Africa where African nationalists tend to agitate for continuation of external colonialism. The reasons are apparent: it forestalls complete settler domination and it gives them time to catch up.

Still another proposal is that every effort be made to reduce racial barriers, officially through legislation and unofficially through inauguration of genuine multiracialism in all aspects of human relations within the territories. The theory here is that if a genuine interracial community can be created, into which African leaders are integrated, then multiracialism at the political level will be made more acceptable, or at least less terrifying. Certain limited efforts have been made to promote multiracialism along these lines (e.g., the Capricorn Movement, Interracial Associations, and the United Tanganyika Party), but thus far European participation has been extremely limited and most African nationalists remain suspicious and hostile.

One major factor in the insecurity and discontent of the African peoples is that, with certain exceptions like the Baganda of Uganda and Wachagga of Tanganyika, they are on most counts far behind the alien communities. Visit any bank in British East Africa and you will find a few Europeans in managerial roles, a large corps of Asian tellers and clerks, and African orderlies carrying tea for the others. Such racial stratification is characteristic of the civil service (see graph) and most other enterprises, if indeed it is not a microcosm of the entire society. And for most Africans this is the real meaning of multiracialism. Short of a crash program concentrated on African education, this situation will continue indefinitely. It also explains the intense desire of most African leaders to

Portuguese Africa

(Euro-African Union)

THE PORTUGUESE system gives the appearance of being remarkably stable, and, as the Portuguese authorities are anxious to point out, virtually free of an anti-Portuguese "nationalism." But it is an authoritarian stability; and while there is indeed no overt nationalism, some British Africans familiar with Portuguese territories report the prevalence of considerable latent nationalist sentiment.

In any event, the absence of overt nationalism is easily explained by the thoroughgoing policy of repression and exile for dissidents, the extremely limited opportunities for higher education, the lack of contact between Portuguese Africans and "free" political systems, and the lack of color discrimination and the genuine assimilation of "assimilados". (Of the more than ten million Africans, only 36,691, or .3 percent of the population, are "assimilados"; the remaining 99.7 percent are "Portuguese Natives" without political rights. Passage from the "native" into the "assimilado" category is slow and the barriers high.)

An added reason for the stability is that the Portuguese territories were virtually untouched by the ferment consequent upon the Second World War and are only beginning to feel the unsettling processes of social and economic change which elsewhere have sparked political awakening.

Thus, while the authoritarian features of the political system may persist—short of radical alterations in metropolitan Portuguese society—there are two changes in progress within Africa which might ultimately affect that stability: the political restlessness in neighboring territories (particularly Nyasaland, Tanganyika, and Northern Rhodesia), and the social ferment arising from current economic development in Portuguese Africa. These will bring new stresses which may in time compel either a dramatic change in "native policy or a greatly expanded security force." —J. C.

acquire unfettered control over public policy, for only then would they be able to institute the racial changes they deem necessary to catch up.

NEW ERA IN THE CONGO

The Belgian Congo is a multiracial colony, being inhabited by

more than one race (there are 70,000 Europeans) and with such political representation as there is involving both races. But two striking features about the Congo make it difficult to place squarely in any general category. First, as a result of their policy of "cautious empiricism," the Belgians have been reluctant to state categorical political objectives. Although in 1954 the Minister of Colonies stated that "the union of Belgium and the Congo in one single community remains the principal objective of our policy," no steps have been taken—as in France and Portugal—to integrate the two entities formally or to make legal provisions for Congolese representation in the Belgian Parliament. Second, the Congo is virtually a pure colony, having only the faintest glimmerings of popular participation in the political process—a few elected urban councils and nominated consultative councils in the provinces and at the center. It is ruled by a colonial bureaucracy accountable to a Governor-General, who in turn reports to the Minister of Colonies in Brussels. As a system it is admired not only by the Belgians but by all visitors—including some distinguished Americans—who are attracted to the proposition that economic and social development has priority over political rights.

Another distinguishing feature of the Congo is that until recently it has been relatively free of a virulent and assertive African nationalism. For this unusual state of affairs at least five explanations can be given: (1) the policy of economic development and the creation of an African middle class of skilled technicians, clerks, artisans, traders, and priests, have provided alternative careers for African leadership during the current stages of development; (2) the absence of higher education and the refusal to allow Congolese to study abroad, until recently; (3) the denial of political rights to European residents, thereby avoiding the provocations characteristic of British policy in East and Central Africa; (4) the firm repression of any manifestations of political agitation or open dissent; and (5) the absence of a genuine "climate of freedom" (including speech, press, and association) or a legitimate political goal such as self-government, both of which were crucial factors in the rise of nationalism in the Sudan and British West Africa. These and other considera-

(Continued on Page 14)

ON THE SPOT

Recent Developments
in Multiracial Africa

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

Welensky Raps Labour Policy Statement

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, let loose a strong blast against the British Labour Party in a speech early last month at Broken Hill, a mining town in Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Roy said a policy statement issued by the Labour Central Executive March 28 demonstrated something he had always known, "namely, that its colonial policy when in opposition indicates that it has both feet firmly implanted in mid-air."

Labour, he said, had "undermined the traditional respect for law," is "creating racial antagonism," and is "encouraging the black nationalists."

Referring to the "half-baked ideas" propounded in the recent policy statement, Sir Roy said Labour must accept full responsibility for the impact these ideas might have in the Federation.

The Labour Party statement read, in part:

"The Labour Party deeply deplores the approval given by the Conservative Government to the Constitutional Amendment Bill and the Electoral Bill recently passed by the Parliament of the Central African Federation... Although the Labour Party strongly resisted the imposition of Federation in 1953, it has always been willing to do its best to make it work, provided that it established a genuine racial partnership in Central Africa and was based on the voluntary adherence of the African people. We have, however, watched with growing concern the aggravation of racial tension in the last few years. The over-riding of the African Affairs Board by the present Government has weakened the confidence of the African people. . .

"If, therefore, Federation is to endure, we believe that concrete proof must be given to the African people that the principles of the Preamble are in fact being operated. The Labour Party welcomes the economic expansion which has taken place in the Territories in recent years, but believes that this must go hand in hand with the political advancement and social integration of all races.

Federal Party Wins By Close Margin

PRIME MINISTER Sir Edgar Whitehead's United Federal Party won a narrow victory over the fast-growing segregationist Dominion Party in the hotly-contested general elections held June 5 in Southern Rhodesia.

Its strength considerably reduced, the United Federal Party captured 18 out of 30 seats in the Legislative Assembly, and even this bare majority was generally accredited to the use of a preferential ballot. Not one of the candidates of former Prime Minister R.A. Todd's United Rhodesia Party was elected. (Mr. Todd was evicted from the premiership and the United Federalist Party earlier this year in the course of an intra-party disagreement over the pace his government was setting in introducing liberal racial legislation.)

The Dominion Party, which in the latter stages of the election campaign was touted to win, will be the strongest opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament for many years. While it did not gain control of the government as its supporters had hoped, the Dominion Party increased its parliamentary seats three-fold--from four to 12.

It was quite clear that Dominion Party strategists were correct in anticipating that the preferential system would work to their disadvantage. The United Federal Party won four seats that would have gone to the Dominion Party under a straight majority system, giving the Dominion Party a parliamentary majority. (Under the preferential system, a three-way split is resolved by dropping the lowest contender and listing the "second choices" on his ballot as

(Continued on Page 11)

We therefore call for the following steps to be taken in order that these principles may be fulfilled:

- "(a) an unequivocal statement that the objective of the Federation is complete democracy and equal rights for every citizen.
- "(b) the revision of the federal franchise to ensure genuine African representation in the Federal Parliament.
- "(c) the rapid elimination of racial discrimination in both social relations and industry.
- "(d) the extension to other levels of education of the inter-racial policy now being developed so encouragingly in the University.

"It will be by reference to the progress made in these matters that the Labour Party will decide its attitude at the Conference which is to review the future of the Federation in 1960. The Labour Party regards itself as completely bound by the Preamble to the Constitution, which declares that the people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue to enjoy separate government under the special protection of Her Majesty for as long as their respective peoples so desire . . . We reaffirm the pledge that Dominion status shall not be conceded until all the inhabitants of the Federation have expressed a desire for it, through the exercise of full and equal democratic rights . . .

"In order to enable African views to be more effectively expressed at this Conference and as a step towards full democracy, the Labour Party believes that Africans in Northern Rho-

desia and Nyasaland must now be given opportunities for much greater participation in their government . . . Labour also believes that the franchise in both territories should be broadened immediately as an instalment of progress towards a common roll and full adult suffrage."

Reviewing these points, Sir Roy asked: "Was it the intention of the party to hand the African people of the Federation over to a handful of power-hungry African politicians?" The Africans have as yet shown no ability to make a reasonable contribution towards the running of the State, let alone take it over, he said.

Sir Roy charged that "wild statements made by certain African leaders showed how statements such as those of the Labour Party encouraged them to believe that all one had to do to run a state was to have adult suffrage." He declared that in the Federation "civilization" will be the only test for exercising the vote, and "I intend to make no compromise with the extremists, whether they are in the Labour Party or the African National Congress."

Sir Roy asserted that all of Labour's actions since Federation came about in 1953 "have had the effect of hindering the Federation from working, either by design or from ignorance."

The opposing views were of particular interest because of the possibility that Labour will be in power in 1960 when the review of the Federation's Constitution takes place. Sir Roy is expected to press for greater Federal autonomy, a demand Labour hopes to hold in check until Africans have obtained a stronger voice in the central African territorial and federal governments.

—R. C. K.

Vasey Stays As Kenya Finance Head

At first, it appeared that one of the early casualties of Kenya's new constitution would be the able Minister of Finance, E. A. Vasey. In April, Vasey was a candidate for one of the twelve special seats created under the new constitution and chosen in secret ballot by the Legislative Council. The African members of LEGCO boycotted the balloting, and Vasey was unable to carry enough European votes to win. He tied with another candidate and lost literally on a coin flip.

The following day, in a move which seemed significant for multiracial Africa, the African members introduced a motion of full confidence in Vasey and asked him to stay on as Finance Minister. At first, Vasey declined. But in mid-June, Kenya's Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, let it be known that he had persuaded Vasey to remain as Minister for "as long as I was Governor." Sir Evelyn, whose term expires in March 1959, said that Vasey's skill and experience made his retention "most important in the country's interests."

Vasey's public pronouncements have aroused much attention in East Africa in recent months. Below are excerpts from a March interview by the *East African Standard*.



VASEY: SOME 'COLD FACTS'

"For the African in Kenya each political 'victory' will bring with it a measure of economic defeat—for more and more of the essential knowledge and experience of the European and Asian would be withdrawn from the country and its people.

"Could any responsible European or Asian leader be expected at this stage to accept full, universal adult suffrage on a common-roll basis, knowing, as he does, not only the racial situation, but the level of political and economic ignorance

African Leaders on Trial

RECENT EVENTS suggest that Kenya's new constitution—which its author, Secretary of State for the Colonies Lennox-Boyd, conceived as a liberal gesture in the direction of multi-racial government—has only succeeded in hardening the position of the African opposition.

The trial in Nairobi Magistrates' Court from May 27 to June 11 of Tom Mboya and six fellow nationalists was symptomatic of the government's growing dilemma. The Africans were charged with conspiring to influence unduly other Africans who had announced their candidacy for four new "specially elected" seats set aside for Africans in the Kenya Legislative Council.

To make too little of the nationalists' extra-parliamentary obstructionism could rule out any African participation in government; to make too much of the case might well have made Mboya a martyr. The final judgement was a delicate compromise: all seven were found guilty and fined £75 each on the first charge of libel, but were dismissed on the second charge of conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor.

The present constitution was announced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd in November 1958. It provides for an increase from eight to 14 of the African Elected Members in the Legislative Council, and added 12 Specially Elected members—four each for the Europeans, Asians, and Africans—to be elected by the Legislative Council sitting as an electoral college. The original eight African Elected Members—who included Mr. Mboya and his six fellow-defendants in the recent trial—opposed the constitution and declared they would not work with any Africans elected to the four new positions. When six Africans announced their intention to seek the nomination for these Specially Elected seats, Mr. Mboya and his colleagues issued a statement which the government alleged represented a conspiracy to influence and defame. This statement accused the Africans who sought nomination for the special seats of identifying themselves with those who sought the perpetuation of oppression of the African people, and exhorted fellow-Africans to treat them as traitors to the African community—"stooges, quislings, and black Europeans."

The Crown prosecutor said the case had been brought to court "not to stop anyone expressing their political views" but for the opposite purpose—to preserve freedom of speech, thought and action among the African community. He added that the charges were purposely not framed under the Election Offences Ordinance because it was not desired to bring penalties that could debar the accused from their seats in the Legislative Council.

In another Kenya development, the new Council of State, another innovation of the Lennox-Boyd constitution, held its inaugural meeting this month. The appointive body is allowed a maximum membership of 16 drawn from the various races, and has powers to question legislation which it considers unfairly discriminatory against any one community. --H.K.

with which he would be faced as an inevitable result? I go so far as to say that no responsible leader of any community who had the interests of the people at heart could accept such a step today.

"What sort of example are we going to set the African voter? Are we going to make him believe that political extremism is the only way of political progress, or are we going to show that we ourselves believe that moderation and co-operation are the only possible paths?

"Africans will tend to demand political advancement and an increase in political participation at a rate too fast for their present capacity.

"In 1956 there were about 2,600 Africans undergoing four-year courses in secondary schools in

Kenya, and 283 passed the School Certificate. About half of them will go on for higher education in East Africa or overseas. When they have completed their studies they still have to gain practical experience on the ground before they are ready to fill the needs of the professions, the administration, agriculture, commerce and industry—as well as the political sphere.

"These figures show that it will be a considerable time before the African side of our population is producing in any quantity people equipped to play a full part in the direction of the affairs of the country in the many spheres in which they will be needed.

"But the circumstances which make the presence of Europeans and Asians indispensable to the conduct of Kenya's affairs in all

New Trend Seen as White Leaders Plan Conference with Africans

those spheres will not alter until the Africans, emerging with professional, technical, and administrative energy and skill, and with the necessary years of practical experience, are numbered in thousands where they are now numbered in tens.

"That will not be possible unless there is economic development to pay for the process. Indeed, the greater the development, the more will be the need for the skill, experience, and initiative which the Europeans and Asians have brought and can bring.

"These are cold facts which any African who claims to be a responsible leader of his people must point out to his community—just as people like myself would fail in our duty if we did not face our own people with the truth about the rapidly changing political situation. Continuation of political intransigence and instability, from whichever community it might come, cannot but delay the economic and social development of the people.

"As I said, if democratic principles are accepted, the African majority is inevitable, whatever the form of franchise; but there is still little or no chance of this country progressing unless there is true acceptance of the meaning of common responsibility and a recognition that many stages will have to be gone through before anything in the nature of self-government is possible in Kenya.

"Capital from abroad, which we need so badly, does not look at whether the Government is white, brown, or black. It looks at the ability, capacity, and integrity of the Government with which it is dealing. It will deal with a Government of experience in which it has confidence. It also has regard to the political stability underneath that Government . . .

"I would like to see the method of electing people to the special seats in the Legislature reviewed at the earliest possible moment, in the hope that some form of franchise could be found which would enable these people to seek election by all races on a much broader basis.

"Of this I am convinced that unless some basis of common responsibility is found for a number of people, then before long the habit of voting on a racial basis will become so deeply ingrained that it will lead to a period of political instability which will hamper the economic development of the country and create an atmosphere of rising tension from which the European, Asian, and African communities will suffer. In such a position victory will mean defeat for even the 'victorious' group".

LEADERS of the Afrikaner white community are making plans for a conference later this year with African and other non-white spokesmen. The move has evoked considerable comment and interest throughout South Africa.

The conference was decided upon early in May at the annual congress at Stellenbosch University of the South African Bureau of Race Relations (SABRA), an institution which has close associations with the ruling Nationalist Party (see *Africa Special Report*, Oct. 1957). SABRA is the organization through which Afrikaner intellectuals and leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church express and press their views on the racial problems of the country.

According to the Afrikaner paper *Die Burger*, the view that "bridges" must be built between European and African leaders was the "dominating idea" of the SABRA congress.

The decision to hold a conference between leaders of the two groups was considered highly significant by much of the South African press. The move appeared to be well-received in many white and African quarters.

The African-edited *World* said the decision was "not unwelcome" although the aim "appears to be to strive to make us accept *apartheid* which we have for so long rejected."

Chief Lithuli, President-General of the African National Congress, welcomed the "most co-operative spirit born of a genuine concern for the

future welfare of our common country," according to the *Golden City Post*. The paper reported similar favorable responses from the heads of the Natal Indian Organization, the Transvaal Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association and the South African Coloured People's Organization. Nationalist Senator J. H. Grobler subsequently wrote in *Die Transvaler* that the discussions should be held with the chiefs rather than "unattached intellectual leaders" because the entire policy of the Government was concentrated on the view that leadership of the Bantu proceeds from the acknowledged tribal chiefs.

Grobler's view was criticised by Prof. L. J. du Plessis of Potchefstroom University, who said leaders of the African National Congress definitely should participate in the discussions.

The Johannesburg *Star* commented: "SABRA would not . . . be one step nearer to its purpose if it heard nothing more than a dutiful echo of what it wanted to hear from a hand-picked collection of Native 'yes-men.'"

The *Star* said it was a "significant commentary on the extent to which the bridges between White and Black have been broken by the policies of recent years that what should be a self-evident process of the communication in a multi-racial society has been hailed as an almost sensational innovation."

Die Burger's correspondent said the
(Continued on Next Page)

S-S-Sh! Not a word!



Reprint from *The Star*, Johannesburg, May 1, 1958

South Africa

(Continued from Preceding Page)

tone of the May congress was in a certain sense a product of the recent Nationalist election victory. SABRA leaders generally interpreted the Government's controversial policy of *apartheid* as implying actual territorial separation of the races and full separate development. The *Die Burger* article said the SABRA people fear that time has become very short. The paper said that one of SABRA's big tasks in the five years before the next election was to educate public opinion so that the Government could be told to "go on" with the program. The article continued, "SABRA takes account of the public opinion on both sides of the colour line for, so it is emphasized, the policy of territorial separation cannot simply be imposed on the Natives."

One of the speakers at the congress, J. D. du P. Basson, Nationalist Member of Parliament, said that no race

policy could succeed in a country like South Africa if it were not made acceptable to the majority of non-Europeans. At the moment many non-Europeans refuse to accept "that we have good intentions with regard to them, too, and I fear that much of the blame for this refusal is due to the white politician. For in spite of the great revolution which race relations have undergone in the outside world and are still undergoing daily, our most important political terminology still bears the stamp of aggression that recalls half a century ago."

Mr. Basson said he found a direct contradiction between the ideas of *baasskap* (white supremacy) and *apartheid*. One, he said, pre-supposes vertical separation while the other envisages horizontal separation, "and yet there are politicians who mention both in the same breath."

Another speaker, Prof. J. C. G. Kotze of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, said trusteeship became tyranny unless it was applied in accordance with the Bible. This demanded that the minor be educated to majority and that the minor be granted his majority as soon as he was ripe. In South Africa the end of trusteeship has almost been reached, and there are already non-Europeans who are of age, the professor said.

Prof. C. F. Gunter, of the Department of Education, Stellenbosch University, told the group it was the task of the teacher to expel race prejudice, and among the prejudices and misconceptions which must be removed was the idea that the person with a white skin was necessarily superior and one with a black, brown or yellow skin was necessarily inferior. He said the same applied to the idea that the whites would always remain in the dominating position and the non-whites never catch up.

Dr. A. L. Geyer, a former editor of *Die Burger*, said it was "indeed a tragedy, one which could lead to South Africa's downfall, that our race

problem, a real national problem if there ever was one, serves to such a great extent as a pawn in our national game, party politics."

Commenting on the congress, the *Cape Times* said SABRA's call to renounce *baasskap* "is a call to the most radical reevaluation of race thinking and race policies."

Die Vaterland said that while SABRA had "academic wings" that made it skim lightly over matters like costs, economic obstacles and human obstacles which hampered a government in practice, the significance of the conference was, as ever, "an honest re-investigation of foundations and ways of approach." Observing that "some people, including political leaders, seem to nurture a conception that apartheid is merely another way of keeping 'the kaffir in his place,'" the paper said SABRA's appeal was for "a greater sense of responsibility in the personal example we set and in the words we use."

The *Natal Mercury* noted that there was "a curious and distinctly hopeful absence of intolerant emotionalism at these discussions." Total apartheid may be "utterly impractical," but "if SABRA can only persuade those on its side of the folly of uncontrolled emotion in racial affairs it will have helped South Africa to take a step back from the abyss that lies ahead."

It was reported in the press that Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs and a top figure in Nationalist party politics, resigned from SABRA shortly before the congress. The *Evening Post* claimed that he resigned in protest because SABRA no longer accepted his "fundamental principle" that "there can never be any question of consulting non-whites on matters of policy."

At the congress, Dr. Verwoerd was criticized by implication when J. D. du P. Basson said the Minister of Native Affairs, "a key figure in race relations", should be "less deeply involved" in the party political struggle.

—R. C. K.

SABRA's PLAN:

OBJECTIVES of the South African Bureau of Race Relations were outlined before the Cape Town Middagmaalklub (Luncheon Club) in late May by SABRA vice-chairman Prof. N. J. Olivier.

Prof. Olivier said there was no possibility of the whites in South Africa ever moving in a direction which, in their opinion, would lead to non-white domination. He said SABRA accepted that the white would not sacrifice his right to political self-determination but it was only logical that provision be made for the non-white to achieve political self-determination. This, he continued, could only happen through the geographical division of South Africa into a white state and one or more Bantu states, but they should be prepared eventually to cooperate on a federal basis in all matters affecting the interests of the country.

(Critics of SABRA generally take the position that such a territorial separation of the races would be impossible to bring about in South Africa because of their increasing integration economically.)

Prof. Olivier said SABRA believed that no policy could achieve a solution unless there was a good understanding and a desire for co-operation. He called for decency and humanity in dealing with the non-whites and said Government action must be guided by the principle that nothing should be done to harm good race relations. "White South Africa," he said, "must act positively and constructively."

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis, by J. D. Hargreaves, Oxford University Press (London), 1958; 100 pages, 6s. This nineteenth century public figure was the first West African to be knighted. Sir Samuel was the first Mayor of Freetown, Sierra Leone, and was long interested in the politics of the colony. The book is part of a series on West Africa's history, leaders and personalities sponsored by the West African Newspapers, Ltd.

English Studies in Africa, Vol. 1, No. 1; Witwatersrand University Press (Johannesburg), March 1958; 10s. The independent review, published biannually, investigates the study of English at universities in Africa.

"Good Housekeeping: The Story of Uganda's Budget, 1957-58", published by the Department of Information, Kampala, Uganda, 1958; 24 pages. The basic factors in collecting and allocating public funds are presented in an easy-to-read illustrated brochure.

"Cairo: The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference", by Homer A. Jack, A Toward Freedom Pamphlet (Chicago), 1958; 24 pages, 30¢. The author presents a political analysis of the 1957 Cairo Conference that includes a summary of the sessions, world press reaction, and the text of the final declaration from the conference.

FRENCH-AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH IN SIGHT?

RADICAL constitutional changes of the greatest importance to French West and Equatorial Africa are planned by General de Gaulle, West Africa reports. The magazine said in June: "Details are still to be worked out, but the General has stated that among changes to be submitted to a referendum of all French peoples (including the African populations) are those intended 'to allow the relations of the Republic with the peoples associated with it to be put on to a proper footing'. The word 'associated' is of considerable significance and clearly puts a new interpretation on the relationship between Metropolitan and Overseas France.

"In the case of French relations with Black Africa, the presence of M. Houphouet-Boigny, and M. Cornut-Gentile, in the French Cabinet, confirms that France's new Prime Minister intends to implement the draft legislation conferring autonomy on the territories of Black Africa, and to put relations between Black Africa and France on a federal basis. These are the two demands now made by every French African politician of standing...

"M. Cornut-Gentile's appointment as Minister for Overseas France confirms the General's liberal intentions. He was High Commissioner in French Equatorial Africa from 1948 to 1951 when he took over as High Commissioner in French West Africa, a post he held until 1956. He is regarded as the most liberal of all senior French colonial officials and knows French Africa's leaders well...

"People in parts of Black Africa have profound affection for General de Gaulle," the report adds.

SOUTHERN SUDANESE WANT FEDERATION

MOST of the southern members of the Sudanese Parliament have flatly rejected the proposition that the Sudan is geographically one state. When both Houses of Parliament convened on May 22 as a constituent assembly to debate the country's new constitution, the southerners walked out in protest because the majority voted against including the question of federation in the draft constitution. The southerners later announced that they would boycott the assembly until a compromise was reached with the north.

MBOYA CONDEMNS K.K.M. IN KENYA

TOM MBOYA, the African Elected Member for Nairobi in the Kenya Legislative Council, told a meeting of that group in early May that he wished to "take this opportunity to condemn all types of subversive activities, such as the K.K.M. (Kiama Kia Muingi) publicly, emphatically, and categorically." He added that he wished to "eliminate the thoughts from the minds of anybody in this House and country that the African Elected Members encourage anybody, any African, to entertain or to en-

gage in subversive or secret organizations. We do not and we have said so at our public meetings." (For other news of Mr. Mboya, see page 8)

NEW AFRICAN PARTY IN NYASALAND

THE FORMATION of the Congress Liberation Party, a splinter party to the Nyasaland African Congress, was announced on May 5. Nearly 600 people attended the meeting called by R.D.T. Banda, the recently suspended president of the Nyasaland African Congress.

NEW APARTHEID RESTRICTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1959, all non-white residents of South Africa must ride in separate buses. The National Transport Commission has ordered all cities to discontinue its practice of allowing non-whites to ride on the upper decks of buses used by the white population.

YOUNG DIPLOMATS STUDY AFRICA

TWENTY "intermediate level" United States Foreign Service Officers and State Department career officers have begun an intensive three month study seminar in Africa. The program includes numerous field trips and special lectures at African universities. The project is sponsored by the Foreign Service Institute and is largely financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

FEDERAL PARTY WINS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

(continued from page 7)

"firsts" for the two other contenders. Many supporters of Mr. Todd are believed to have voted for the United Federal Party because they recognized the liberal group would not be able to form a government and that the country's best interests could be served by voting to defeat the Dominion Party's strong power bid.

Some 55,000 Rhodesians voted in the elections, but only about 1800 of these were Africans. Although Mr. Todd's government had enacted a highly controversial law which lowered property and literacy requirements slightly, permitting an additional 11,029 of the country's 2,100,000 Africans to vote, the legislation was so recent and the general elections so unexpected that many had not registered in time to participate. The election had to be called when Sir Edgar Whitehead, after being chosen as leader of the ruling United Federal Party and Prime Minister, failed to obtain a seat in Parliament in an April by-election.

In summing up his party's victory at the polls, Sir Edgar told reporters that the electorate had indicated that "generally speaking, they are satisfied with the middle-of-the-road policy we have put before them." The Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, noted, "It is now quite clear Rhodesians are determined to follow a moderate pace in racial matters, and this should be recognized by all concerned in this country and out of it." --H.K.

James Johnson on U.S. Aid

(Continued from Page 2)

two. American aid must be given in a manner that avoids offending dependent people, i.e. no political strings must be attached. America must not convey the impression that she is entering the uncommitted continent of Africa in a big way because she wishes to combat the infiltration of communism.

Secondly, America must not enter the dark continent in what appears a critical, anti-colonial mood. If she does, she will find that Britain, her principal ally, will justifiably feel that Americans do not understand the complex issues involved and do not appreciate the good spadework done by the metropolitan power for these emerging black dominions. Indeed, many Britishers may feel that this powerful American neo-imperialism is attempting to edge us out of Africa.

The first and most obvious field where the powerful and wealthy U.S.A., with its advanced industry and technology, can help these young, poor and underdeveloped countries of Africa, is in economic aid and technical assistance. Practically the whole of Africa is calling out for capital investment: for communications, factories, housing, schools, docks and harbors. Much of the continent consists of a narrow coastal belt, and then behind this is a vast hinterland to be opened up. I shall never forget once asking President Tubman of Liberia what was the first need of his country, expecting him to answer "education". He replied "Roads, roads and roads!" In the words of Kipling, "Transport is civilization."

A peasant society, whose young men are forsaking the bush for the bright lights of the city, needs secondary industry if these men without jobs are not to starve slowly in the dreadful slums of towns like Nairobi. The expanding African social services, particularly in education and housing, can be paid for only by public taxation in a vastly expanded industrial economy. For this, power is needed, and hydro-electric schemes such as the Volta Dam, Kariba and Jinja are in the vanguard. The cost of these, however, is astronomical. Volta, which began as a \$35.7 million job, now looks like it will cost three times as much, while the first installment of the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi is costing \$28 million.

Again, in the years of British administration, colonial territories received aid from London in the form of Colonial Development and Welfare funds and Colonial Development Corporation investment. Now that Ghana has become a dominion she is on a similar footing with the white dominions of New Zealand and Australia, and this flow of British taxpayer's money ceases. Tragically when actually this emergent black dominion has new and increasing commitments and needs assistance more than ever. Again, take a new state like Somalia, a semi-desert pastoral economy, which will be non-viable unless the Sinclair Oil Company finds oil in the Haud. Somalia will need a subsidy, probably about \$10 million per annum. Is America prepared to support this state as we have done Jordan and Libya? If not, Somalia will be wide open to penetration from Egypt, and indirectly to Soviet influence.

In Africa there is a desperate need for qualified men and women of all kinds, engineers, doctors, teachers, veterinary surgeons, agronomists and the like. Since Britain cannot supply these in sufficient numbers, American, German, Swiss and other continental technicians will be welcome.

Turning to the academic field, a good job can be done by giving scholarships to young Africans to go as students to American Universities. Despite the fact that there are 4000 Nigerian students and many from other territories in the U.K., and we are expanding

higher education in the university colleges of Ibadan, Makerere, Nairobi and elsewhere, demand is unsatisfied. I feel there is need here for the U.S. Government to consult with the heads of universities—such a man as Principal Clements of the Negro University of Georgia comes to mind—to find the best means of carrying this out. They will need also to work in conjunction with the big private foundations like Ford, Carnegie and others.

I have been impressed in Africa by the good work being done by the U.S. Information Service, particularly in the provision of public libraries in Africa. Nairobi is a good example, for here Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo, and other tribesmen patronize it extensively and use it as though it were the municipal library.

Trade unions and producers co-operatives are perhaps the two most obvious activities where tribal Africans in the bush can learn the democratic way of life in actual practice. Here the help that America can give is less easy to define. American and British trade unionism have much in common, but they differ in many ways, and in the British colonies the International Confederation of Trade Unions organization has not experienced too happy a relationship with the local administration. There has been some friction in East Africa, where the A.F.L.-C.I.O. decided to select ten African trade union leaders to go to courses in the U.S.A. There is need here for close collaboration with the British T.U.C. in any such schemes, for the Colonial Office has its own Labour Commissioners on the spot in close contact with Africans, and British trade union leaders visit the territories to advise these young African unions.

Similarly in the field of co-operatives very successful work is being done, with Ghana cocoa, Uganda cotton, but particularly by the Chagga people in Tanganyika with their Kilimanjaro coffee co-op.

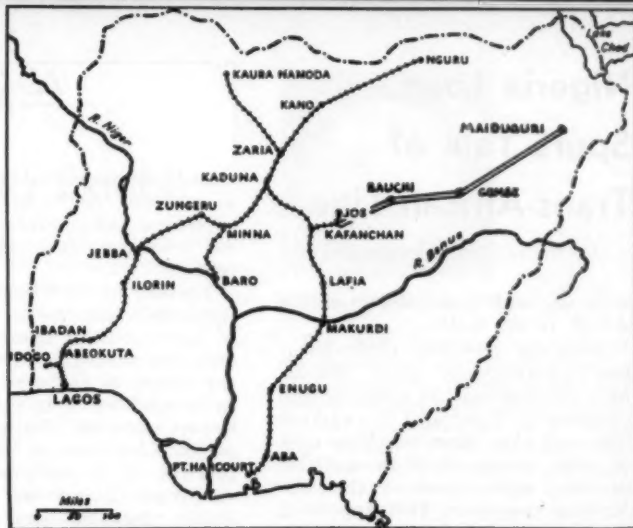
To sum up, it may be said that America is beginning to discover Africa, and there is great need for visiting speakers to satisfy this awakening American interest, be they black or white Africans, British, French, Belgians or other people with colonial experience. Here the U.S. State Department, by judicious use of their Smith-Mundt leadership program, can do much, as also can the universities, religious and other private organizations like the African-American Institute and the American Committee on Africa.

In conclusion, let me re-iterate that Africa is the uncommitted continent. Today their burning questions are color and colonialism. Communism as understood in Europe is virtually unknown. Americans, luckily, are not so inhibited as the British with the color bar, but I would stress the danger of American economic imperialism succeeding British political imperialism. It is important that any American government funds that are given as economic aid, should go in under international agencies as far as possible. The British Labour Party is committed to giving 1% of our national income to UN special agencies (e.g. SUN-FED) for economic aid and technical assistance to under-developed territories. I am glad to see the U.S.A. is supporting the establishment of a UN Economic Commission for Africa.

If America gives foreign loans under national auspices merely to gain an ally in the cold war against the Soviet Union, she must not be disappointed if she finds herself unpopular as the British were thirty years ago. This has been shown in the Middle East, but there is no need for this to happen in Africa. If America goes into the Dark Continent with a genuine desire to lift up these dependent peoples to their true stature and dignity, Africa need not and will not be lost to the Western world.



RIGHT: Federal Information Service map shows existing Nigerian railway system and proposed link to Maiduguri. ABOVE: Dotted line shows talked-about transcontinental rail link between Nigeria and the Sudan.



World Bank Loan for Nigerian Railways Sparks New Talk of Transcontinental Line

THE \$28,000,000 lent to Nigeria by the International Bank in May will cover about one quarter of the costs of a major program of railway modernization and development launched by the Nigerian Government in 1955.

In addition to improvements designed to increase the hauling capacity of the country's existing

1,780 miles of main and branch lines, construction will begin in 1958 on a 400 mile line from Jos to Maiduguri linking the potentially rich agricultural and grazing area of northeastern Nigeria to the country's marketing centers.

Many African planners also see the new railway as a vital step toward the transcontinental rail-

way which visionaries hope will one day link Nigeria and the Sudan. Once the Maiduguri extension is completed, the gap between Nigeria and the western outpost of the Sudan Railways — the town of Nyala, which is conveniently almost on the same latitude as Maiduguri — will be only about another 400 miles. The terrain, mostly flat land with little vegetation, would make such adventure considerably less expensive than the \$54,000,000 it is costing to build the extension from Jos to Maiduguri across rough plateau country.

The chief obstacle to the transcontinental line is that most of the intervening area falls in the French Equatorial African territory of Chad. In late 1957, the *Grand Conseil* of French Equatorial Africa went on record with a vigorous protest against the idea of a west-east railway line. The magazine *West Africa* has ascribed Chad opposition to three principal factors — (1) past bitter experiences with "inefficiency" and critical delays in getting an important backlog of groundnuts to port via Nigerian railways; (2) the high sterling draw-down on Chad's precious foreign reserves that would be required to transport over either Nigerian or Sudanese lines, and (3) the priority which French Equatorial Africa is giving to strengthening Chad's very inadequate and seasonal communications

(Continued on Next Page)

Economic Notes

USSR Offers Aid to Sudan. The Sudanese Government informed the Soviet Union June 15 of its readiness to enter into negotiations for an economic assistance and barter trade agreement, following a long-reported Soviet offer to provide the Sudan with a broad range of economic and technical aid "without strings." According to Sudanese Foreign Minister Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub, who reported full details to his Parliament on May 27, the Soviets have offered to purchase the Sudan's surplus cotton on a barter basis, construct factories, make a geological survey, train Sudanese technicians, and provide long-term credit to finance any projects which the Sudan Government suggests. The declared policy of the Sudan Government is one of positive neutrality. When American ICA aid was accepted in April 1958, Foreign Minister Mahgoub said that the country welcomed assistance from any sources as long as the aid was unconditional.

Investment Capital Wanted in Kenya. The Kenya Government has invited U.S. investors to participate in the development of tea crops in the Nyambeni Mountains area and the construction of tea factories. Technical assistance and managerial and industrial assistance are desired as well as capital investment. The proposed tea processing plant would cost about \$400,000. A leading Kenya African nationalist, Tom Mboya, has also made a public bid for more foreign investment in Kenya. Mr. Mboya, speaking in the Legislative Council during the recent budget debate, assured investors in Kenya that the African elected members of the Council would do everything possible to encourage and grant as much security as possible for invested capital. He said that most people would expect him to have no sympathy with capitalists or big firms, but this emphatically was not so. "One thing Kenya needs is stimulation of industrial development and greater investments," he pointed out.

Nigeria Loan Spurs Talk of Trans-African Line

(Continued from Preceding Page)

with its "sister" territories of the A.E.F. to the south.

Both the Nigerian Government and International Bank officials have emphasized the domestic importance to Nigeria of the current loan, and have taken no official note of press discussion of the possible broader implications of the Jos-Maiduguri project. The supporting Bank statement points out only that northeastern Nigeria is "potentially rich and well-suited to the production of groundnuts and cotton for export, and grains and livestock for the domestic market" and emphasizes that "only a fraction of its potential is at present realized because most of the roads linking it with railways are unsuitable for heavy traffic."

Under the development program now underway, the Nigerian Railway Corporation (a semi-autonomous government corporation established in 1955 when the government relinquished direct control of railroads) will purchase 28 new main-line diesel electric locomotives, four diesel shunters, some 1,400 freight cars and cabooses, about 260 coaches, sleeping cars and baggage vans, and two diesel railcar sets for suburban and branch line passenger traffic. In addition to the 400 mile extension, about 240 miles of main track will be relaid, most of it with heavier rail. New stations are to be constructed along existing lines, terminal facilities extended and improved, workshops modernized, and communications improved. About 40 stations will be added along the projected Jos-Maiduguri extension. The IBRD loan, which is the first the bank has made to a British West African country, will finance payments for imported goods over the next three years.

The loan agreement was signed in Washington in early May by Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Nigerian Minister of Finance; R. A. Njoku, Minister of Transport; J. B. Knapp, a vice-president of the International Bank; and Sir Harold Caccia, British Ambassador to the United States, who signed for the British Government, guarantor of the loan.

—Helen Kitchen.

Multiracial Africa

(Continued from Page 6)

tions have permitted the Belgians to postpone decisions on political objectives and to preserve until recently an essentially static colonial regime.

Further postponement may be impossible. Repression and denial of basic political liberties will become increasingly untenable with the advent of the new government in Brussels and with the increasing impact upon the politically-minded urban Congolese of the political ferment in the neighboring areas of French Equatorial Africa, the Sudan, Uganda, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. The point is perhaps passed when Congolese energies can be channeled exclusively into "nonpolitical" careers, local tribal "self-government," and advisory councils. A new class of university-educated Congolese will soon appear, and if they act as have their counterparts elsewhere, a cadre of nationalist leaders will be among them. While Belgian policy has created an economic "infrastructure" upon which democratic institutions can be erected, and has avoided the bitter tensions characteristic of other multiracial areas, the course of future political developments will be determined to a large extent by the responsiveness of the Belgian administration to the aspirations of the emerging educated elements. The Congo is undoubtedly on the threshold of an entirely new political era.

SOUTH AFRICA

(European Oligarchic State)

Many outside the Union of South Africa regard the situation there as one pregnant with immediate disaster. Yet, there is the possibility that a measure of sentimentalism leads to an underestimation of the strength of several elements of stability in the present system. The strongest of these is the extraordinarily stringent system of social and police control over actual or potential African political leaders in particular and over the non-European community in general. Backed by a comprehensive array of "security" Acts, including in particular the Suppression of Communism Act, 1951, the authorities have been able to immobilize nationalist-minded African leadership and to make it virtually impossible for meaningful, united, and sustained political action to be organized in the non-European com-

munity. The stability of the present regime is further strengthened by its policy of building up the traditional, largely rural, Bantu sector. Whether intended or not, this has the effect of sharpening existing cleavages and hampering unity of action between the African rural mass and the more nationalistic and educated urban leadership. Moreover, many policies of the present government have either the active or tacit support of a majority of the Europeans, and whatever organized liberal-minded opposition exists is politically weak, if not impotent. In sum, from a short-run standpoint the present regime is stable.

Although it is unlikely there will be any immediate change in the rigidly oligarchical South African system, there are certain lines of development which in the long-run might lead to a measure of democratization. The gradual improvement of the economic status of the non-European community, coupled with the spread of education, could endow that community with a power no government of the oligarchy could ignore. And the present government, doctrinaire though it may appear to be, has on occasion acted very realistically and in ways not always consistent with the doctrine of apartheid. Again, there could be a progressive conversion of influential Afrikaner religious and intellectual leaders to a more liberal outlook, either through increased contacts with the outside world—or they are an incredibly self-isolated group—or through their realization of the futility of the present course. Another possibility would be the successful development of multiracial government in British territories to the north. Set against such possibilities are three powerful countervailing situations: the intransigence of the overwhelming majority of Europeans regarding the principle of white supremacy; the fact that most politically-minded Africans have passed the point of no return in their willingness to accept gradualism; and the absence of any higher or external legal authority, such as that of the United Kingdom government over Kenya or of the United States federal government over the American South, which could enforce progressive democratization.

"THE FAMILY OF MAN" IN AFRICA

Record Crowds Flock to Exhibit

By REX REYNOLDS

"The Family of Man" photography exhibit attracted the largest African attendance in the history of the Rhodes National Gallery in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, March 5-May 4. Of the 20,941 people who visited the international exhibit of man from birth to death, 1,390 were Africans. The total attendance itself is second only to the gallery's opening exhibit of European masters, inaugurated by the Queen Mother.

The exhibition of 503 photographs, taken by 273 photographers in 68 countries, was prepared by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The Salisbury showing was organized by the United States Information Service in Southern Rhodesia and the Rhodes National Gallery.

"It is clear that this exhibition has one central meaning. It is that there is a deep and basic kinship among all mankind," said American Consul General Lloyd V. Steer, speaking at the opening by Lord Dalhousie, Governor General of the Federation.

The *African Daily News*, which exhorted Africans to see the exhibition, editorialized: "the portrayal of life is astounding . . . Never before have the universal themes and the common experiences of a lifetime so graphically been shown . . . I believe 'The Family of Man' helps one to realize how man is basically the same all over the world, and in our multiracial society, the exhibition helps one to have a realization

and humane approach to all the problems that estrange one man from another. Its philosophy is human: it is of immense cultural and spiritual value."

To accommodate the exhibit, the gallery underwent an extensive transformation, involving some 2,000 hours of voluntary labor working after hours for 51 nights. For the first time in its history, the gallery was open three nights a week, and special lighting effects were designed for the night showings.

The Salisbury exhibit is the first appearance of "The Family of Man" in Africa, on a tour that includes South Africa from July through September and Kenya, December to March 1959. Arrangements for the world-wide tour are under the auspices of the United States Information Agency in Washington.

It was feared that Africans might mildly resent pictures of tribal scenes showing them as a somewhat primitive people. On the contrary, most Africans particularly appreciated photographs of an old village story-teller gesturing as he talks to a group of Africans, of the father teaching his son to hunt, and of naked African boys leaping across the sands.

Many Africans paused a long time at the picture of a little American Negro boy walking down a street with his arm around the shoulder of a white child, and one poorly dressed African said to this correspondent: "Ah, that is partnership."



African Placement Service

The Staff Associate in charge of the Placement Program will travel to West Africa this summer to visit secondary schools in Ghana and Nigeria. He will be accompanied by Mr. Murphy, Director, West Africa Office. They will meet principals of secondary schools and discuss with them the Placement Program of the African-American Institute and the placing of specific teachers whose files will be carried to West Africa. In addition, they will visit with the several teachers in Nigeria placed by the Institute. The Nigerian schools included in the itinerary are located at Onitsha, Enugu, Port Harcourt, and Calabar in the Eastern Region; and Abeokuta, Benin City, Lagos, Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode in the Western Region.

* * *

Teacher applicants are being screened at the Institute's Washington office at the rate of one group every two weeks. By January 1959, the beginning of the African academic year, approximately twenty teachers are expected to be in the field.

Applications received over the summer months will be processed for possible placement in the spring of 1959. Direct all inquiries to Dept. B-12, African-American Institute, 1234 20th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

—R. J. Smyke

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

Board of Trustees

President: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.

Vice-President: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former United States Ambassador to Liberia.

Treasurer: Lansdell K. Christie, President of the Liberia Mining Company.

Secretary: E. Ladd Thurston, Washington Attorney.

Chairman, Executive Committee: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the American Metal Climax, Inc.; Chairman, Scholarship Committee: Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Chairman, Publications Committee: Dr. L. Gray Cowan, Columbia University; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, President Emeritus, Lincoln University; Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India; Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; John B. George, ex-officio; William Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Etta Moten Barnett, lecture recitalist.

Executive Staff

John B. George, Director; E. Jefferson Murphy, Director, West African Office; John M. Livingston, Staff Associate; Raymond J. Smyke, Staff Associate.



... taken at "The Family of Man" exhibit in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.



French Embassy Press & Information Division

A FETISH figure of General De Gaulle, made several years ago by African carvers in French Equatorial Africa. De Gaulle is well-known in French tropical Africa, both as a war-time hero and as France's leader at the time of the 1944 Brazzaville Conference, which resulted in a number of African political reforms. French sources say De Gaulle is regarded in some parts of tropical Africa as a wizard with unlimited powers, and "this touching effigy is proof of the affection and respect" which are held for him.

Alma